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a metal lock. Attached to it in the back is something like a miniature leather cartridge case of almost cubical form which serves to dispose of their smoking outfit and other trifles; and if anyone owns a bush-knife, that too hangs from his belt. All the young men now covet such a belt, regarding the lidded shoulder bag plaited of burity bast (itself a loan from the Neobrazilians) as appropriate only for their elders. The use of this baldric does not antedate 1901, when forty warriors marched as allies of the Brazilian soldiers against the insurgent Guajajára. It is never worn in ceremonies.

Some men, but no women or children, wear sandals of cow leather, finding them very serviceable on their travels through the sun-baked sand, which is painful even for the Indians. This footgear is a quite recent loan from the Neobrazilians—in contrast to the aboriginal bast-cord sandals of the Akwẽ-Šerénte.

At about thirteen or fourteen the girls receive a girdle (mepre) composed of some thirty tucum threads barely a millimeter in thickness which have been very carefully and evenly twisted on the thigh; they are held together in one spot by wrapping (pl. 10, *b*). The wearer steps into the girdle, with the wrapping in front. Ordinarily a mother gives this girdle to a daughter who has completed her term as auxiliary of some men's organization; and the young woman wears it until her first pregnancy, some resuming it subsequently on festive occasions. At present the Rąmkõ'kamekra girls mostly restrict its use to ceremonial times and dancing. On such occasions they wear only this garment, but generally, though not always, one or more urucú leaves are thrust into it to cover the genitalia (pl. 3, *a*). When not in use this girdle usually rests coiled round the neck of a gourd bottle containing the urucú seeds for body painting; this, with other toilet articles, is generally hung from one of the posts of the girl's elevated bed. Among the Põrekamekra, Pohl saw such girdles and interpreted them as a badge of virginity,[xx] which does not hold for the Rąmkõ'kamekra, at least today. Formerly, to be sure, the girls of this tribe are said to have been married only after having received the girdle. A single girdle cord with frontal leaf, such as Pohl observed among the Põrekamekra, is rare among our Canella.

When visiting Barra do Corda the men generally wear trousers, more rarely nothing but a kilt. The women who have no complete dress cover themselves with a loincloth and a cover for the upper part of the body. As Snethlage, too, noted, they assume this costume only just before reaching the first houses of the town and immediately take it off on their departure.

As a matter of fact, these Indians consider clothing not merely inconvenient, but positively indecent, as illustrated by an experience in 1930. Encouraged by my presence, some twenty Guajajára of both sexes decided to visit their old enemies in Ponto. Precisely at the time when the councilors and I were assembled in the plaza at sunset the guests arrived, headed by their chief, José Rosa, who asked for me and was directed toward the plaza. Clad in boots, striped trousers, a shirt no longer white, a rather shabby black coat, and a little straw hat, he stepped among us naked, club-carrying savages and seated himself gingerly on a mat I pushed toward him. Then, however, he delivered a good speech: Assuming our permission, he had come to attend our festival (the second phase of initiation) in order that his and our tribe might henceforth live in peace and amity; the old hostilities were futile, etc. The assemblage listened in amiable mood, gave its consent, and sent him to a chief's dwelling, where he and his attendants received lodgement. Then we adjourned, each going home. At the door of her maternal home Kentapí, then

[xx] Pohl, Reise, 2:194.

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about fifteen, was waiting for me, and her first words were: "Imagine that Guajajára not feeling ashamed to go to the plaza in *that* style!" In other words, it was the clothed Guajajára who should have been abashed before us naked men, not vice versa.

The Ramkŏ'kamekra at first treated their visitors as boon companions. How to behave toward the slender, little and bashful women guests was a question, but the men were at once taken into the festive clubs and cordially invited to take part in all ceremonies, but without their trousers and loincloths. The hosts repeatedly urged their visitors to go naked, but the Guajajára always sheepishly evaded. The Canella took their guests bathing, in the expectation that then at last they would shed their clothes, but the Guajajára remained on dry land, merely watching from the bank. That was going too far, so the Canella secretly began mocking the visitors and gradually it dawned upon them that the strangers did not fit into their festive company and had to be got rid of before the beginning of the grand closing ceremony. Forthwith the councilors decided to cut off their provisions and simultaneously to tell them untruthfully that the ceremony would not start before ten days. Sure enough, José Ross[1] appeared in the plaza three days later, announcing that he was very sorry not to be able to wait, that he had to look after his crops, and would leave the following morning, which he did, liberally supplied by his hosts with victuals for the journey.

All other bands worn around the forehead (pls. 9, *a–g;* 10 *a*), neck, chest, and waist (pl. 11, *a*, *b*), upper arm, wrists (pl. 11, *c*, *d;* cf. pl. 13, *b*), knees and ankles are not in constant use, but associated with ceremonial decoration, though a few young men like to appear with at least part of these paraphernalia on everyday occasions (pl. 3, *c*, *d*). No Canella dreams of putting on his knee bands (reddened with urucú like all decorative articles) with any great regularity from childhood on in order to affect the musculature of his legs. Such procedure would merely result in a still greater protrusion of the calves comparable to its effects among the ancient Island Caribs with their rigid bands; it certainly would not give to the lower leg "the desired slenderness" as Martius was told—presumably only to rationalize the name Canellas finas (p. 29).[2]

Hair.—Except for the Western Gaviões and the tribes which, like the Gurupy groups and the Kre'pų'mkateye, have adopted the Neobrazilian style, all Eastern Timbira of both sexes and all ages dress their hair in identical fashion. Irrespective of mourners and people otherwise in seclusion, there were only two old people in Ponto who failed to cut their hair.

The hair is cut rather high on the forehead, close, and in a horizontal line. At the temples of the upraised head the trimmer continues to cut on both sides in an accurately horizontal line but so as to leave a distance of about 4 cm. between the ends of the lines cut, this space being called krąyimók. The hair is cut in a width of about one centimeter. Where the two hair furrows meet the forehead on either side, the lower corners are rounded off somewhat by removal of hair. Unless smoothed with oil, the coarse, stiff Indian hair then rises more or less shaggy above the furrows, simulating at a distance a cap. The hair about the temples is cut off at the level of the auditory meatus, so that it forms a sort of ear muff (yiré). The occipital hair (krąkatút) is allowed to grow long, but its length greatly varies with individuals, sometimes descending almost to the waist.

Strangely enough, neither Pohl nor Snethlage has noted the occipital gap in the hair furrow that distinguishes Eastern from Western (=Apinayé) Timbira style.[3]

[1] Spix and Martius, 2:822. [2] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.

1[i.e. the chief of the Guajajára --- Analyst.]

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mitting it to drop to the ground. If a player at last allows it to fall, it is not picked up, but Rąrą'k throws a new one into the ring until all the shuttlecocks are forfeited.

After midnight the men of both rainy season moieties assemble by two fires in the plaza, whither a man named Kái brings them a bundle of unfeathered arrows with balls of maize husk covering their points (pl. 16, *a*). The players step up in pairs (so as to represent in each case both moieties) and try to hit each other with the arrows, which they throw with their hands.

In 1929, during my first visit, when I had not yet come to understand anything of the ceremonial, I had the following experience. An Indian wishing to show me a special favor had some sweet potatoes brought from the plantation for my delectation before the harvest time had been officially announced. In my innocence I eulogized the generous donor before the elders in the plaza, but at once noted the silent, but significant glances passed among them. The donor was thus placed in an ambiguous position and incurred censure, though in deference to me this was not carried too far. However, the culprit was obliged to hurry to the plaza with a bowlful of baked sweet potatoes for the elders, who consumed them and declared the crop ready for harvesting. Similarly I observed that they received two watermelons when the harvest for these fruits was opened.

Another ceremony, hõčwa (= pointed leaf, i.e., sweet potato), is devoted to the sweet potatoes. It always takes place when these plants produce their vines, immediately preceding the ceremony just described of opening the maize harvest. The performers, numbering some twenty, are organized like the festive organizations, but their activities are confined to this single annual appearance at the hõčwa. As in these other societies, membership is inherited matrilineally with the personal name. The lodge is situated on the north side of the eastern half of the village circle. Like the other societies, this, too, has a leader, the hõčwakédeti (grandfather of the hõčwa). He wears hanging down the nape of his neck from a neck cord a feather from the tail of a red arara. The present incumbent is the chief Hąktokót, but the title hõčwa itself belongs to the bearer of the name Rąrą'k, who in this capacity wears falcon down on his body and has a little whistle of Mataco type.[302] The participants also include a precentor and two girl auxiliaries.

The members paint the entire body with white clay, and their faces are marked with two obtuse-angled parallel lines traced with the finger tips with the same pigment. The apex of one of these angles is on the forehead, while its sides extend over the temples; the point of the other angle is on the tip of the nose and its sides are drawn across the cheeks.

The hõčwa actor proper is decorated at sunset. At nightfall a big fire is kindled in the plaza, where the precentor remains waiting. Finally the hõčwa leaves his maternal home and walks to the plaza, where the precentor begins singing to the accompaniment of a rattle, while the hõčwa, with his pinčwę'ipey behind him, sounds his whistle. Thereupon the hõčwakédeti steps out of his maternal house, dances toward the plaza, but immediately returns in order to bring with him the entire membership, who now dance in the plaza with outstretched arms.

Toward midnight all the women and girls come out of their houses and range themselves in groups at the opening of the radial paths leading from their maternal homes to the plaza. The hõčwa march round the plaza from group to group, singing before each of them.

The object of this ceremony is to ensure for each extended family an adequate supply of sweet potatoes, corresponding to the number of its female members.

[302] Izikowitz, Musical Instruments, 333.

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Membership is not transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son, but goes with the honorary chieftainship of an alien Timbira tribe. When one Timbira group visits another, the hosts glue falcon down on one of the guests, preferably a young man, paint him with urucú, and make him present himself before the councilors in the plaza with a bowlful of food. By this rite he becomes their honorary chief, mehõpa'hí, which is reckoned a great distinction. This ceremony always takes place shortly before sunset, the time when the girls are singing and the elders assembling in the plaza. At a return visit to their erstwhile guests, the former hosts look up the man thus chosen, who billets them on his mother or wife or both, charging himself with their entertainment.

In 1930 Vicente Kratpẽ', the chief of the Krahõ', who had incurred the animosity of the Apinayé, made an offer of peace and amity through me. In dictating the message to me, he explicitly referred to their having appointed his son a courtesy chief and urged them to visit their mehõpa'hí.[39] In 1931 the Guajajára paid their first visit to the Rąmkõ'kamekra, who chose one of their young men as honorary chief. He was probably little pleased with the consequences of his elevation, for henceforth whole bands of Rąmkõ'kamekra would descend upon him for continuous and prolonged visits.

In short, it is an honorary chief's duty to provide food for the members of the tribe by which he has been honored. Of the four tribal groups united at Ponto—the predominant Rąmkõ'kamekra, the Čą'kamekra, the Krõ'rekamekra, and the Karēkateye—each has one or more of these courtesy chiefs in each of the others—the more, the better in the interest of their food supply. It is the totality of these courtesy chiefs, who in 1931 numbered thirty-four, that constitutes the order of King Vultures; and since the tribal chiefs are hąmrén, the title is extended likewise to the tamhą'k.

This is the only way of becoming a King Vulture. It does happen frequently that as a man grows older his electors choose his sister's son as successor to his aging uncle because youth is deemed essential for the magical practices of the order. But the specific relationship is inessential. In one case a son was appointed to supersede his father, and other youths were chosen though neither their fathers nor their uncles had ever been tamhą'k. This principle applies also to the post of leader of the order.

Adopted by a Čą'kamekra family, I am classed accordingly in the village. Čątú, my hąpínpéy (see p. 100), is a Rąmkõ'kamekra proper and in 1930 had me initiated as tamhą'k by his tribe.

A King Vulture ought to be generous to his electors and to conform in every way to native standards of conduct. If he returns with game and meets a member of the tribe that has honored him, he deposits his spoils before him as a gift and silently departs. All tamhą'k give presents to the groups that have chosen them as courtesy chiefs. On the other hand, when people at large have killed game, the King Vultures (like the other hąmrén) share in the first portions distributed. The ideal behavior expected of a tamhą'k seems to be also imposed on his next of kin: an Indian who had deserted his wife without just cause was reminded of his son's quite recent admission to the King Vultures.

Initiation may occur at a very early age, say, from six to ten years on, so that the order includes many lads and no really old men.

The magic of this order rests on the belief that the King Vultures, especially if young and vigorous, beneficially influence activities they inaugurate and objects

[39] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 19 f.

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572 561 heir names desire to become "friends," they enter the creek, which is about a meter in depth, stand back to back, dive and simultaneously swim away in opposite directions, rise to the surface, and turn about so as to face each other. The relationship thus formed is taken less seriously than in the preceding cases, but may be inherited.

608 627 Especially at secret nocturnal meetings during the pepyé phase of initiation the first commandant of the novices explains the twofold obligations of "friendship," viz., mutual respect and solidarity. Respect is manifested in various ways. Speaking of or to one another, friends never use personal names, invariably substituting the terms hąpín and pinčwę'i without the pronominal prefix, and in the second case mostly resorting to teknonymous paraphrasing. If two "friends" meet on a narrow trail, neither yields precedence, *both* turning aside to the right or the left until past each other. A hąpín and his pinčwę'i must neither marry nor philander; indeed, in conversation they must avoid erotic references, including mention of anything relating to their own sex experiences. Even friends of the same sex converse seriously, neither laughing at the other or mocking him. If a dispute is unavoidable, it must not be carried on in the presence of others. In case of a definite breach the chief preferably appoints as arbiter one who is a hąpín to both parties; and similarly, in a conjugal quarrel he appoints the hąpín of the husband or the wife to make peace, the spouses being under obligation to heed this umpire's admonitions.

Too much mutual familiarity is forbidden to "friends." When conversing they do not look at each other, but stand abreast, each gazing straight ahead. At the Mummers' entrance into the village, girls customarily tie badges to the horns of the paraders, thereby becoming their respective "mothers"; but a masquerader mutely declines this favor by a movement of his shoulders if he recognizes the girl as his pinčwę'i.

No hąpín may beg of another. It was sometimes droll to watch Čątú, one of the worst mendicants in the village, inwardly struggling to restrain himself from begging of me. If I absolutely refused to take a hint, he would wait for a moment when [577] we were alone, then with timid glances round about he would say in a subdued voice, "hąpín, you know... I am not allowed to say anything... but..." Only when pressed would he express his wishes in plain terms.

The second obligatory attitude, that of solidarity, sometimes assumes grotesque forms. Complementary to the prohibition of mutual mendicancy is the duty to look out for another hąpín's needs and to supply them by spontaneous presents. They also make common cause in danger and in dispute. Odd is the official appeal for aid in a difficulty. The suppliant waits for an assembly in the plaza, then steps in front of his friend, but with his back toward him, publicly explains his plight, and then goes home. The hąpín is then under obligation to do what he can in his friend's behalf.

123 608 But in case of danger a hąpín ought to leap into the breach spontaneously. During my periodic palavers with whisky dealers and other such bearers of culture Čątú quite unobtrusively soon takes up a position nearby, leaning on his enormous sword club, and watches the course of events. Sometimes he brings along several members of his age class. Subsequently he is likely to approach and apologize, "Look, hąpín, I know you told us not to interfere, but he might have become impudent." And at that Čątú is by no means a teetotaler!

In case of an accident it is a meritorious act for a friend to prove his loyalty by voluntarily undergoing the same pain. Once I slightly injured my arm; as soon as

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123 Cątú heard about it he gashed himself in the corresponding spot with a knife. Such
608 a display of friendship is usually rewarded with a present.

For a pinčwę'i such performances are carried to a grotesque degree: Once a little girl had been stung by a scorpion, whereupon her two pinčwę'i executed a mad
608 scene before the assembled throng outdoors. While the child was howling with pain
522 inside, the women acted as though they had caught the scorpion (which had long since got away) and were allowing it to sting them. Then they pretended crushing it between their fingers and devouring it. In addition they indulged in all sorts of antics, evoking general mirth.

152 Similar nonsense is also practiced whenever a "friend" is ceremoniously distinguished, that is, especially at the beginning or the termination of seclusion in the initiation and the pepkahą'k festivals. Then the friends carry on most extravagantly around their hąpín by way of displaying their mad exultation over the distinction conferred on him. On one occasion a man straddled his sword club as though it were a hobbyhorse and wildly galloped about, wielding his signal trumpet as a crop; another howled and scratched up the earth like a dog; still another pulled back his prepuce and simulated copulation. Most commonly they dance about with protruding tongues, grotesquely swinging their limbs and their heads.

Mutual ceremonial obligations are extremely numerous and intricate. A friend
608 invests a person with ornaments, glues falcon down on his body, and paints him.
302 When the first commandant of the pepyé is freed from seclusion, his pinčwę'i decorates him. If possible it is a hąpín that paints a pepyé with the designs of his plaza group; and at pepkahą'k the pinčwę'i glue falcon down on the King Vultures and the similar decoration of the pepkahą'k themselves devolves on corresponding
[768] girl friends. Anyone who has been excluded from social intercourse by long absence or seclusion due to illness, mourning, and the like, cannot resume normal participation in the communal life unless he is first painted by a pinčwę'i or hąpín and has thus presented himself before the council in the plaza. Whenever, for example, I return to the tribe, my pinčwę'ipey, Kañõ', paints me and, because of my status as a King Vulture, hence, hąmrén, she also decorates me with falcon down. At a major ceremony of the great festivals the friends of either sex are compensated for their services with meat pies offered by the decorated performers' kinswomen; otherwise a minor gift constitutes their fee.

[764] When set on the bier, a man's corpse is painted by his pinčwę'i, a woman's by her hąpín, falcon down being substituted in case of a hąmrén. The remuneration is not taken from the dead person's property.

In most cases the decoration worn at a ceremony is surrendered at its close to
608 the wearer's hąpín and pinčwę'i. At the end of a pepyé seclusion the comb with
292 which a novice's sister had stroked his hair was immediately turned over to his pinčwę'i, who suspended it from her neck. After the solemn parading of the first pepyé commandant subsequent to the lifting of his seclusion, his pinčwę'ipey immediately removed all his decorative outfit, viz., his forehead and girdle bands, bandoleers, and cotton belt; and nothing could induce her to sell me these regalia. The two girls graduating with the pepyé were divested by their pinčwę'i at the girls' final appearance in the plaza, while their hąpín appropriated the presents laid down for that purpose before them by the girls' kinswomen. At the close of their festival the pepyé, decorated with cloths, beads, and green tucum cords, left for a log race against the next oldest age class; at the exit from the village their pinčwę'i surrounded them and took off all their ornaments. Similarly, the women and girls who twice divest the pepkahą'k of their yellow cords are the wearers' "friends."

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A child usually does not get its first name until several months after birth; I have seen children about a year old who were still nameless.

The significance of the names varies considerably and has nothing to do with the bearer's individuality since they are inherited. Except for Ka'tą'm, which may be applied to either sex, the masculine and the feminine names are distinct. Many girls' names terminate in the feminine suffix -kwę'i. The following may serve as samples:

Masculine	Feminine
Kačěkum, Star haze	Kačěkwę'i, Star girl
Čępką, Bat skin	Pųtkwě'i, Sun girl
Ropką, Jaguar skin	Pųrākwě'i, Girl of the urucú blossom
Kapěrtųk, Black bacaba	Kōredn, Spilled water
Čątú, Fox belly	Teprā, Small fish (species)
Tepyet, Hanging fish	Pačéđn, Pretty arm
Kukrāčą', Bees' nest	Kukrāyet, Hanging bees
Pądnhi, Arara bone	Te'hōk, Painted lower leg
Kenkum, Mountain fog	Kentapí, Road up a mountain
Kentetet, White mountain	Mīkwę'i, Crocodile girl
Čarčą, Place for broiling	Kahě'rkwę'i, Ground-nut girl
Hąktokót, Falcon (species)	Krāpey, Beautiful head

The first syllable serves as a pet name, for example, Kō for Kōkaipó; Ken for Kentapí; Pądn for Pądnhi.

The name transfer always takes place in the plaza before sunrise, at the close of the morning dance. The ceremony does not arouse much excitement, but at this hour there are always many people present, especially the councilors. The donor stands on one side, his hąpín on the other, the recipient (or, if he is a small child, his mother or aunt carrying him) in the middle. A councilor or chief steps in front of this group, turning his back to them and leaning on his club; then, while rocking from one foot to the other he calls out the name.

I acquired the name Kōkaipó as follows: The chief Major Delphino Kōkaipó had died while traveling a number of years ago before he had been able to transfer his name, so that it became extinct. This was generally regretted, especially because of the last bearer's popularity. Some time after my arrival, the councilors decided to adopt me into the community as the first non-Indian and availed themselves of this exceptional case to revive the name.

Immediately after the morning dance, chief Kukrāčą' summoned the entire village to the plaza, where the council first held a short conference concerning the affair. Then Kukrāčą', the deceased Kōkaipó's junior brother, took up a position on my right, and Čątú, the dead man's special hąpín, on my left. Chief Hąktokót stood in front of us and all faced west, that is, in the direction of the village half belonging to the complementary exogamous moiety. Leaning on his long burity staff Hąktokót delivered a loud and passionate address, which at that time I was unable to follow, and announced the name. The audience responded with loud shouting and a blast of trumpets.

After the ceremony my deceased namesake's three sisters came up to tell me how glad they were over the revival of the name and my now being their brother. One of them introduced her little son, who at once merrily addressed me as "kedti" (maternal uncle) and to whom I was expected at some future time to convey the name, as I actually did some years later.

Strangely enough certain objects of importance also receive personal names, for example, ceremonial lances (krowačwa). When in 1935 I presented the tribe with

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552 a new copper roasting pan in place of one that was no longer usable, they regarded it as my daughter, so to speak, and accordingly my sister, Kra'napą'n, transferred her name to it.

551 Nicknames, except for those bestowed by Neobrazilians and then sometimes used by the natives themselves, are rare and borne mostly by young lads and girls. Thus, one youth was called Pičanre, from Portuguese *pixano* (used to call tomcats) plus the diminutive ending; and the fat little wanton Muruwá was dubbed Tokí, from Portuguese *toquinho*, a small tree stump.

[177] All adult Rąmkõ'kamekra have been baptized by Catholic priests, some possibly more than once. They use exclusively these baptismal names in their intercourse with Neobrazilians, but very rarely among themselves—the women never, a considerable number of them having forgotten their Christian names.

No Timbira manifests any reluctance about uttering his name. Refusal to answer Neobrazilian queries on this point is due simply to the feeling that it is none of the interrogator's business or that he could not pronounce the name anyway.

ORPHANS; TREATMENT OF CHILDREN

736 855 If the mother dies, her child remains with her kinswomen, with whom it has been living since birth, though in contravention of the matrilocal principle a girl is occasionally brought up by her father's sister. The father's death does not materially affect the child's social status either, for the orphans' relatives treat them with as much amiability and benevolence as if they were their own offspring. Thanks to their matrilocal institutions the Rąmkõ'kamekra have no "poor, unfortunate orphans": a stepfather has no power to abuse them in a house that is not his, but theirs; and an "evil stepmother" simply has no close contacts with them.

All the Timbira treat their children with great patience and gentleness, never yelling at them, nor, so far as I have observed, ever beating them. Stubborn little children or those who bawl from sheer caprice—a thing of rare occurrence—are simply ignored by their parents and very soon stop.

PLAY

524 532 Little girls have relatively many toys. Their dolls are approximately cylindrical pieces of burity leafstalk, rarely of wood; they are of the length of a finger or span. They lack heads, face, and limbs, though female dolls are provided with wax breasts, a corded girdle, and sometimes corded sashes. The male dolls generally lack all decoration, being only rarely equipped with a forehead band and grass girdle. Both sexes are painted black and red or have falcon down glued on them. (See pl. 23, *i–k*.)

415 524 Practically all the domestic utensils of adults may serve as patterns for toys; one sees tiny gourd bowls and bottles, fire fans, baskets of all sorts, provender pouches, little sleeping mats and hammocks, manioc presses and strainers, carrying baskets, etc. Coiled basketry, which these Indians had completely abandoned as too complicated for practical use, was found exclusively as the technique for toy baskets at the time of my first visit. At my suggestion it was revived for utensils. [123] (See pls. 23, *h, l, m*; 24, *d–f, h, k, l*.)

857 In the bushes back of the dwellings little girls assemble in twos or threes to set up a dolls' household sheltered by little huts made of twigs and mats. Then they beg their mothers to glue falcon down on a doll couple so as to be able to get them married by laying the dolls together on a miniature sleeping mat.

Toys are the property of the child; to obtain them I had to get the child's consent.

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841 853 191 about frequently married eight-year-old girls, refers not to the Timbira, but to the Southern Kayapó.

How the native theory of defloration as prerequisite to menstruation could persist is a complete enigma; and its occurrence in identical form among Eastern and Western Timbira proves that the idea is not an innovation. I myself took cognizance of its existence relatively late. An accurate determination of the facts encounters difficulty, not because of Indian prudery, but because the natives could never grasp that I was interested solely in the objective facts: they always supposed that I was taking a personal interest in the girl I asked about. That I was [123] inquiring about two or three girls was also intelligible, though my simultaneously concerning myself with all of them seemed a bit odd. I left the puzzle unsolved.

881 841 585 No special measures are taken at puberty, the procedure remaining uniform for the first and for subsequent menstrual periods. Since defloration and menstruation are equated, the diet is the same in both cases, but in the former it extends to both spouses, who for several days abstain from heavy dishes lest their hair turn gray prematurely. Meat, manioc paste, and manioc flour are taboo, while nowadays rice is reckoned most suitable.

841 Formerly a menstruating female is said to have worn a hip cord of burity bast dyed red, a badge that had completely fallen into desuetude at the time of my stay. She goes bathing as usual, but wears no decoration and does not appear in the plaza, least of all for dancing. In fact, she does not without necessity leave the house, where she is seated on a special mat of paty palm leaves. She must, above all, refrain from looking at the plantation in order not to injure the growth of the crops. She drinks from a special water bottle, but may prepare food for others [412] as well as herself. The use of a scratching-stick is prescribed. It is usually a span in length and consists of a rod of paty leafstalk or any handy little stick as a substitute; the scratcher is usually stuck into the thatch of the wall beside the bed.

No man knowingly has relations with a menstruating woman lest he be afflicted [757] with a headache so violent as to drive him mad. If he recognizes the woman's condition too late, he immediately prepares an infusion of cedar bark, sets it outdoors overnight, and drinks it the next morning.

836 627 596 Though premarital defloration has become the rule as it were, the girl's relatives still demand an indemnity unless marriage follows. Usually there is a family council, embracing the mother, her brothers and sisters, the girl's elder brother if old enough, and the paternal aunt. After a cross-questioning of the girl in order to ascertain the facts, the mother's brother betakes himself to the culprit's family and with the utmost calm and prolixity propounds the claim for indemnification. He rarely receives an immediate reply, for the Timbira are generally extremely slow in reaching a decision. There ensues a discussion by the culprit's family, possibly repeated at intervals of weeks, so that the affair is drawn out over months, sometimes dying of inanition—if for no other reason, because in the meantime the girl has had over-ample time to dispose of her person. In some cases, however, the uncle takes a more determined stand and lays siege to the opposing party till they indemnify the others with a gun or such ironware as a pot, a bush-knife, or an ax, the maternal uncle receiving the lion's share. This, at least, is the contemporary procedure. Anciently, it is said (and confirmed by Pohl), premarital defloration was virtually nonexistent.

833 191 Like the Apinayé and the Šerénte, the Rąmkõ'kamekra cohabit both in dorsal and in semilateral feminine position; in the latter case, posteriorly below the woman's raised thigh.

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839 Perversions seem to be extremely rare. I know nothing of masturbation or homosexuality. I heard of one youth, somewhat abnormal in other respects, who had cohabited with a calf. The old people declared nothing of the sort had ever happened before. The solitary known case of incest is that described on page 114.

838 A certain Nyõkwụ'dn, about twenty-five years old (1936), is a marked invert in tendency. He has a high falsetto voice and a more feminine carriage than many a girl. In sitting down he often assumes a woman's posture and displays a striking predilection for feminine domestic tasks. In a photograph of fourteen young men he is the only one to cover his genitalia with a bunch of leaves. He has never had sexual relations with a girl, but I expressly ascertained that he has never been known to indulge in homosexual practices. The omnipotent ceremonial pattern obliges him to join his age mates in all their performances, which he does unresistingly. To his tribesmen he remains an enigma; tradition does not report any comparable instance in the past. But since he does not play truant in any activity, people do not mock him and permit him to live according to his strange inclinations.

WEDDINGS

585 Formerly the majority of youths married their fiancées in a joint ceremony im-
● 123 mediately consequent on the close of the last phase of the initiation festival. The
596 last collective wedding of this sort seems to have occurred in 1913, for none followed the close of initiation in 1923 and 1933. This was probably due to the fact that many of the young warriors were already married. The old people in conversation with me repeatedly regretted the decadence of this usage, and since I encouraged them to insist on its maintenance they arranged with the leaders of the latest initiates, the põhịtĩkama class, to make up for the omitted solemnity. Soon the põhịtĩkama, whom I had joined as a sort of honorary member, came to me gleefully declaring that after all it would be better to adhere to ancient custom. I eagerly agreed, but when I scrutinized the program it turned out that I was booked to wed the thirteen-year-old Kõrédn! This, then, explained the girl's recent solicitude on behalf of my horses; her uncle Pụtõ's remarkably comradely attitude; her elder sister Rạrepri''s invitation to enter the house whenever I passed by. On meeting Pụtõ' the next time I explained that I was not able to get married in these circumstances. He said nothing in reply for the time being, but went to his maternal home and summoned a family council that included himself, his brother, his two sisters, one of whom was Kõrédn's mother, and another old woman. Then he sent Kõrédn herself to invite me to come. Obviously everything had been settled, for he was the only one to speak, saying that Kõrédn had told him she wanted to marry me; that my impending departure was no obstacle; for some day I would return since I was one of them and not of the "Christians"; that then I should find my wife in precisely the condition in which I had left her, as he and his sister would take care would be the case. I expressed regret over the unfavorable conditions, but persisted in my refusal, explaining the inconvenient consequences of grass widowhood for the girl (p. 126 f.). All present remained silent, and I went home.

[623] In the evening and on the following day the matter seemed to be discussed further by the council in the plaza. Then once more there was a family assembly in Kõrédn's home, I being again summoned, with the same result as before. All around me their faces showed displeasure, and Kõrédn was in tears. A few hours later a dozen põhịtĩkama came to me, accompanied by their commandant, a kwụ'nõ of mine, who told me categorically that in view of my refusal they had dropped the project of a collective wedding. I vainly tried to convince them that my per-

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sonality played a wholly incidental role in this proposed celebration; it was impossible to discuss the matter rationally, which was henceforth never broached again.

The older men gave the following account of the solemnity as conducted in the old days:

The master of ceremonies was customarily the leader, mamkyẽ'ti, of the oldest sportively active age class, who in this capacity bore the name of hudoipiapónkaté. The young warriors' maternal uncles went hunting in order to get meat and falcon down. The game was handed over to the brides' mothers, who prepared meat pies therefrom. The young warriors, as well as their brides, were decorated with falcon down, each in his maternal home. The former assembled in the plaza in a precentor's company, sat down in a circle, and began to sing. Then the hudoipiapónkaté grasped the young warriors' leader by the hand, pulled him up, and while singing "kapẽ-pẽ-ẽ toipẽ amčú!" he led him to the bride's house, where a new mat was lying spread out over the platform bed and the bride was expecting him in standing position. The hudoipiapónkaté led the couple to the mat, telling them to sit down beside each other, and intertwine arms and legs. Thereupon he admonished them as to the duties of conjugal life. To the groom he might say, "Now you must separate from your parents. You may visit them, you may bring them some of the game brought home from hunting, but above all you must look out for your wife and your mother-in-law!" Then he received a meat pie and left. Similarly, each young warrior in turn was led to his fiancée provided he had one and was of proper age. Then the households of all the newlyweds sent meat pies to the councilors in the plaza.

However, there always remained a number of young warriors who because of their youth or some other reason were not married immediately after initiation, but continued to sleep every night in the plaza and subsequently were married singly, though by the same ceremonial.

Of the Põrekamekra, Pohl writes:[37]

Der Bräutigam erscheint am ganzen Leib mit Gummi bestrichen und mit weißen Vogelfedern beklebt. So geschmückt wird er von seinen Aeltern und Verwandten, unter dem weithin dröhnenden Schall der Hörner, in das Haus der Braut geführt und dort in einer Art von Wortwechsel um diese geworben. Nach erteilter Bewilligung wird die Feierlichkeit mit einem Schmause beschlossen.

Obviously the author in part misinterpreted the procedure.

No Rąmkõ'kamekra is obliged to marry against his will. If a seducer of a virgin refuses to marry her, he can be forced to pay an indemnity but not to take her to wife. This principle still holds, at least in theory. If a mother or uncle were to attempt to coerce a girl into marriage with an economically suitable young man, she would at once thrust at them the story of Klĳkwẽ'i, which seems to date back some sixty or seventy years, when the village was situated on the Riacho Rapoza, somewhat below the present settlement.

When Klĳkwẽ'i, who was very pretty, had received her girdle, her mother selected an able and industrious youth for her daughter's husband. However, the girl absolutely refused, preferring another, of whom her mother disapproved. The mother scolded and in reply to her daughter's request for sympathy, struck her on the back with her fist. Klĳkwẽ'i lay down on her platform bed and cried. In the afternoon she got up, hung her corded girdle about her sash-fashion, and went out of the village by herself. Where the northbound road passes between two hills she found a faveira tree at her right; unknotting her girdle, she tied it to a branch and hanged herself. When she failed to return after sunset, people looked for her, found her trail, and then her body. Since then every Indian passerby would strike

[37] Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

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and on the far bank of the latter encountered the ketúaye sitting together in two groups. One boy in each group was armed with bow and arrows. Passing them, we marched out into the steppe, where we met Ropką′ and eight women sitting by a fire with a load of sweet potatoes and yams. We waited here while the ketúaye archers were hunting pereás (*Cavia perea*). After a while distant yelling announced the hunters' success. Soon after this they appeared marching along the path in a long line, two of them carrying the weapons, while the girl associates had little carrying baskets, one of them holding a slain pereá, the other a slice of meat. As soon as the ketúaye were visible, Ropką′ and the prôkama bent branches down, behind which they cowered down. As the ketúaye marched past, one prôkama loudly shouted at them to deposit the food for the living. Thereupon the boys put down bows and arrows and little baskets, picked up the sweet potatoes and yams, and moved on toward the west. The elders followed, but soon turned northward, thus reaching the great race track leading westward out of the village; there they chose and cleared a spot in order to wait for the ketúaye, whose girl associates were with them. Two large gourd bowls full of water were brought, into which were put the odorous leaves of *negra mina* and another unidentified steppe tree in crushed form. The two girls, each armed with a bunch of pau de leite branches, stood behind the two bowls, their predecessors of the preceding cycle of initiation beside them. After a while the ketúaye came rushing headlong down the road, their bodies covered with short strokes in charcoal. As soon as one of them arrived, he stepped up to his group's girl associate, bracing his hands against his knees, and received some water from the bowl to drink. Then the girl poured some on his head with her hands and struck him two or three times on the back with the bundle of twigs. Thereby the souls of the dead were made to depart from the boy's body. In addition, chief Kukrãč′ą with a branch whipped the legs of several boys who had dropped behind in the race. Then all marched back on the big street to the village, the ketúaye bathing as they crossed the Santo Estevão and rubbing off their black paint with leaves.

796 881 123

Before noon I ordered two head of cattle slaughtered in the village, and in the afternoon meat pies were being prepared everywhere. In the meantime, along the boulevard there was a race with the thin pąrąkačą′re logs.

At 3 A.M. of the following morning I was called to the plaza, where there was dancing. Then the men divided into the two plaza group moieties, joined by the ketúaye according to the affiliation of their maternal uncles. Now the novices and the two girls were smeared, from the shoulders down, with a mixture of chewed, oily babassu palm kernels and almecega rosin, and white falcon down was stuck on. The effect was that of white bathing suits with a triangle cut out around the genitalia. Women and girls aided in the decoration of the boys. At sunrise all had completed their preparations. The three plaza groups of each moiety assembled in the order already described.

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Now there formed in the very center of the plaza a group who were searching for something in the ground and finally produced two neatly carved little wooden logs painted red—the pąrare logs of the spirits of the dead. At once everyone ran out of the village by the northern road and disappeared from view. Several of the younger ketúaye, however, not being credited with the toughness essential for this perilous race, returned when a short distance beyond the village and took up positions in the plaza in a line facing north. The two girls and their predecessors also resumed positions in front of them, holding the pau de leite twigs and with the big bowls of sweet-smelling water before them. The stay-at-home boys stepped singly in front of the girls, who poured water on them from the hollow of their palms, and struck them on the back several times. (See pl. 30.)

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guese: rasga mortalha, *Caprimulgus* sp.) and in his flight he severs people's heads with his bill. He lives in a cave. The upper half of his face is red, the lower black. Have you ever seen him?" "Yes," said Kenku'nã', "and we want to kill him, too. But how can we lure him on?" "The same way as with Hąkti," said the grandfather. He built a hut under Kukąe's nest, and the boys went in. Since Kenku'nã' had already killed the giant falcon, Akrõi asked to be allowed to take care of Kukąe. He stepped outside and lured the bird on, which immediately swooped down. Akrõi was just able to escape indoors, while the bird swept by the hut, neatly cutting off the projecting thatch of the roof. When he got back to his cave, Akrõi again enticed him and evaded him. But the third time he was too slow: Kukąe cut through his neck, his head falling to one side and his body to the other.

Kenku'nã' buried the corpse, but laid the head in the fork of a tree where borá bees were nesting. He mourned the dead youth and returned to his grandparents, to whom he reported the calamity. Then he got himself sweet potatoes from the farm for food while traveling and went to look for his emigrant tribesmen, his grandparents remaining in the old village.

As Kenku'nã' was crossing the steppe he got to the ostrich people (kupẽmã), who had fired the grass to hunt grasshoppers, lizards, and snakes. They saw him from afar and called him to come. Kenku'nã' inquired for the way to his tribesmen. The ostriches told him that a year had passed since the people had come by, but they knew exactly where they were now living. The route lay through the village of the sariema people (kupẽpyégre, *Cariama cristata*). They asked whether he wanted to eat meat and brought him a package of lizards, which he was to eat after pounding in a mortar together with manioc flat cakes. He declined and went on. He got to the sariemas, who were fishing with timbó (*Paullinia pinnata*); they invited him to join them. He then ate fish with them and inquired for his people. The sariemas answered that they had come through the village and were living near by, only two or three days' journey farther on. Then Kenku'nã' moved on and at last reached the village of his people.

He hid by the spring of the village until he saw approaching the girl engaged to him in infancy. Then he stepped forth and told her who he was. He gave her the flesh of a deer he had killed, then she returned to the village and brought him sweet potatoes. At home she pierced the grass wall by her bedstead, and in the darkness Kenku'nã' sneaked in. But the rustling of the grass when his large body slipped through the hole made the mother of his fiancée take note, though she said nothing. Before daybreak the friends of the girl came to call her to a dance, but her mother said she was unable to join because of her sore eyes. However, one of the friends shed light on the bedstead with a burning wisp of grass and noticed the man, who was unknown to her. When the men gathered in the plaza heard about it, they were furious at the intruder and decided to kill him. The mother of Kenku'nã''s fiancée, however, had recognized him, led him to the plaza, and introduced him, whereupon he told his tale.

After Akrõi's death and Kenku'nã''s departure, Kokodyo'tómre and his wife also moved on and roved aimlessly over the steppe. Arriving at a mountain, he decided to walk around it to the right and bade his wife go left; they were to meet on the other side. But when they separated they turned into anteaters. Kokodyo'tómre was espied by hunters, who failed to recognize him and killed him. His wife vainly waited for him, crying, on the other side of the mountains, and at last traveled on alone as an anteater.

The gist of this legend is the brothers' entering a retreat in order to accelerate their bodily development, not in order to marry, but in order to avenge their parents. There is no connection with animism.

881 527 123

Pepyé of 1933; capture of novices.—After the ketúaye of 1930 the boys were still considered far from mature enough to close their cycle with a second pepyé in the following year. Hence, three years were allowed to elapse before the ketúaye initiates, then properly grown-up young men, were segregated for their final pepyé. I attended the entire festival (April 16 to July 18, 1933) and did my best to promote its correct performance so that I was treated as a quasi honorary member of the organization. Thus, in so far as I was not obliged to collaborate with other social units to which I belong (age class, plaza group, etc.), I was able to associate with the youths as one of their number.

881 527

Until April 16 only the councilors, whose deliberations were secret, knew the date of opening for the festival. On that day an ordinary log race was arranged, the logs having been made by the wakõ'kama age class on the Brejo da Cebola, two kilometers

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This is the avaitipó chant proper, for in the singing the two initial words are pronounced avaitipó. The arrangement and step of the dancers were those of the second chant, but the performers did not swing their arms and legs. This closed the singing lesson.

881 527

Races; cementing of formal friendship; chants.—After the departure of all visitors, the pepyé arranged a race with the miniature pąrare logs, 25 cm. long, which the catcher had secretly made for them and given to the eastern leader (pl. 35, *d*). Since no other age class was available as a rival team and the season precluded a division into kạ′ and atụ′k, the novices split up according to eastern and western plaza moieties. For the time being the pepyé are able to run only with the pąrare—and even with these only in secret, for the wakõ′kama would not permit the manufacture of true full-sized race logs, and would confiscate even the pąrare if they should discover them.

In the afternoon, shortly before sunset, the pepyé marched back from their camp by the brook to the village, where they collected food in their mothers' houses. Henceforth this occurred daily at this hour.

On the same day the cells and fences of all pepyé retreats were dismantled.

Very early on the morning of July 17, Chief Kukrãčą′, old Koyapą′, the catcher, and an Indian named Korã′ went to the pepyé camp. They halted in the steppe on a path parallel to the edge of the wood and leading upstream, while the catcher went to call the pepyé camped near by. These appeared, passed by without a word, and vanished except for the two girls, who stayed behind. I do not know how far they walked. In the meantime Korã′ made two brooms of pau de leite twigs, which he handed to the girls, who expectantly took their stand across the path. Not long after this the blast of horns resounded, and the pepyé, their bodies and especially their faces blackened with charcoal, came rushing up, headed by the champion singer, Tepyét. At once the newcomers, propping their hands on their knees, took places before the girls, who dealt their backs several lashes with the broom, allegedly to purge them of flabbiness. The deputy, who had long ago reached the goal, ran back to fetch the last one of the racers. Running behind him, he constantly lashed his legs and back with the pau de leite twigs, and the vexed expression of his face clearly indicated his sense of responsibility for the disgrace of having such a weakling in his class.

[581]

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His annoyance found vent in a long and vehement tirade delivered at his age mates, ranged about him in a semicircle. He ascribed the poor result of the race to their failure, despite all his admonitions, to obey the rules of seclusion, and bitterly complained of their disobedience. At last he himself joined the semicircle, and old Koyapą′ now held forth in a second harangue, alleging among other things that only Tepyét had rigidly adhered to the regulations, which was why he had beaten all the other runners. This, however, was a very inadequate statement of the facts, for Tepyét had been one of the cattle lifters and not long before had been threatened with the pepper penalty for spending every night with his pretty young fiançée Yarpót rather than in his cell.

881 572 123

Somewhat abashed, the pepyé marched to their camp in the woods by the stream, where they crowded about a water hole in order to cement the two types of formal friendship (p. 100 ff.). All pepyé formed several alliances of these types among themselves. For my own hąpín I acquired the two class leaders, the errand boys, the unavoidable Tepyét, and two others; the deputy and three others became my kwụ′nó; and of the two girls, Horarák became my pinčwẹ′i and Koté my kwụ′nõ′.

881 527

After the establishment of formal friendships, a many-branched tree was chosen

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in the pepyé camp, an old race log was set up under it, and about one meter above it a crossbeam was tied to the trunk for a rung, making it easy to climb to the top. Then, one at a time, the pepyé all climbed up about ten meters among the branches, where each singly sang the iyeõ′ chant "like the falcon which sits in a tree and utters its call." Then the two girls with two comp .nions as precentors sang the avaitipó series in the camp.

In the evening, after collecting food from their mothers' homes, the pepyé took it to the resting place southwest of the village, where they had spent their first night after seclusion was suspended. Toward 8 P.M., after the dance in the plaza, when all was quiet, they stood up in a circle there, the two girls in the center and the precentor Partói in front of them. Rhythmically rocking their bodies from right to left, they thus sang with brief intermissions till daybreak (July 18). A number of kinswomen were sitting or lying by fireplaces outside the singers' circle. At the close of each song two or three of the older pepyé would always bawl into the darkness these words: "There thou liest on the ground, race log, nevertheless I shall carry thee to the village!" The younger ones would shout, "Now thou art still feeding, pereá, but soon thou wilt be in my power!" At daybreak they return to the camp by the wooded bank.

Hunt and race; pó payments.—A little later the old prókama went to a site near the creek about one kilometer above the village. Many women and girls assembled there by an oven in which they were baking sweet potatoes and cará. In the meantime the pepyé were on a hunting trip with two bows specially made by their leaders' maternal uncles. They killed a pereá and a small bird, put their kill into the little baskets presented to the girl associates by their maternal uncles, and with the blowing of horns marched in single file toward the site of the oven. They surrounded the baked fruit lying about on the ground, but the prókama again yelled at them from their ambush of branches, whereupon the two girls at once deposited the baskets, and the leaders their bows and arrows; then all marched upstream and disappeared. The two girls remained behind and, armed with pau de leite branches, again took up positions transversely across the road. Before them were two huge new gourd bowls (kratti) decorated with pendants of beads; the water inside the containers had been perfumed with pulverized leaves of the negra mina tree. In addition there was a gourd bowl filled with an infusion of the scraped wood of the sucupira tree, which has a horribly bitter taste. This tree is reckoned by the Timbira as the quintessence of strength and toughness.

[824]

The pepyé came running back decorated with black paint, Tepyét in his atų′k decorative paint again outdistancing the rest. The girls administered the usual blows on the back and were about to pour perfumed water from the hollows of their palms on the runners' heads, but Tepyét curtly emptied the bowls. However, he and all the pepyé drank of the sucupira infusion.

Then they returned to their camp, where they slept part of the afternoon. The rest of the day was spent in making earplugs and the like in order to pass the time. They also made me tell tales of other tribes, for my new hąpín and kwų'nõ′ had laid claim to me and would not let me go until it was time for us jointly to visit the village for a food collection.

[123]

Toward evening specially prepared hampers (kái) were set up in front of all the late houses of seclusion. They were more than filled with vegetable produce reaching up to a man's height. To make this possible, they extended the walls of the basket upward by inserting and interlacing palm rachises, formed into a pointed funnel open at the top and kept in shape by burity bast rings. To keep the baskets from

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bers had made hunting trips for days into the wooded Serra do Alpercatas and returned with considerable smoked meat especially of wild pigs. On one occasion her father, Nyõ'hí, had shot three ostriches on one day and donated two to the pepkahą'k.

The next day I confiscated a whisky dealer's stock, then when the council invited me, as usual, to join their evening session, I seriously remonstrated with them because of the degeneration of the festival into a drunken carousal, pointing out the fatal consequences of such contempt for old tradition on the entire tribal organization. Finally I said that in such circumstances I no longer cared to attend the celebration and would depart. Fortunately an appeal to ancient usage almost always produces a good effect on these Indians. The elders were visibly ashamed, took my part and acted accordingly, so that the excesses ceased and the festival was resumed according to program.

Ducks and Falcons.—During the entire period of seclusion these societies maintained a holiday spirit in the village by almost daily dances and log races. Since sundry families were behind schedule with their rice harvest, they repeatedly called on these societies for aid, which was always readily granted. The entire organization would then move for several days to the applicants' farm, loaf, and dance half of the time, but assist at the harvest during the remainder. As compensation they were content with receiving their board and a small quantity of rice, which the girl associates were told to prepare for a common meal in the lodge on the members' return to the village. The homeward trip of course always took the form of a log race.

Various activities.—On May 20 greater variety was ushered in with a race arranged by the pepkahą'k from the plaza to their hut of seclusion. On the next day the villagers began carefully to clear the radial paths of grass and rough spots, beginning with the paths leading from the leaders' houses to the plaza. But the requisite labor was not performed by the inmates of a house, but by the hąpín of the pepkahą'k in question, whose kin compensated his "friend" by a gourd bowl filled with food. In the meantime the pepkahą'k themselves fixed the street leading westward outside the village, continuing as far as the Ponto Creek crossing so that the road almost resembled an automobile highway.

On May 24 these labors of the pepkahą'k were finished. Even several days previously they had begun making mats of burity bast, and now this work was zealously continued.

On the morning of the 24th the Ducks and the Falcons ran a race around the boulevard, then the two societies and their girls, forming one long line along the same street, danced from house to house, collecting victuals. With these they moved into the steppe to hunt falcons in order to secure the large quantity of down required for festive body decoration. Those owning guns received ammunition from me.

At 7 P.M. on June 3 all the men assembled in the plaza and grouped themselves in four divisions. This arrangement, which is peculiar to the King Vulture ceremonial, rests on a distinctive principle, viz., the matrilineal descent of the population according to the *tribes* that gradually contributed to the present village community. For the Rąmkõ'kamekra have come to incorporate fragments of the Čą'kamekra, the Karẽ'kateye, and the Krõ'rekamekra (pp. 30–32, 35). Of the Apą'nyekra only two survivors remain in the village, while the Hõtí (=Apinayé) immigrants are quite extinct, so that these two tribes are no longer represented at the segregation in question. The indigenous and numerically quite preponderant Rąmkõ'kamekra occupy the very center, the three surviving immigrant fragments are grouped along the periphery of the plaza according to the direction from which their ancestors

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888 ing to Ribeiro[273] the starving Rąmkõ'kamekra, succumbing to the smallpox and pursued by Neobrazilians, killed their sick:

Qualquer dos que enfermava durante suas marches, deitava-se no chão pondo por cabeceira uma pedra, e punham-lhe então os amigos e parentes outra grande pedra na cabeça com a qual lh'a esmagavam, e o deixavam alli descansando e livre das suas dores: este fim teve o maioral Tempé com todos os outros gentios seus mais notaveis collegas.

[734] (Whoever fell sick on their marches lay down on the ground with a rock for a headrest, then his friends or relatives took another large rock with which they smashed his head, letting him rest there free from his pains. This was the end of Chief Tempé [error? cf. p. 32 f.] and all the other Indians who were his foremost companions.)

However, this took place in a situation more desperate than any known to the tribe before or after, hence does not prove the customary killing of the sick. Another case cited by Ribeiro[274] relates to the Gamella of Vianna, hence is irrelevant.

888 Snethlage quotes a tale heard "von einem durchaus zuverlässigen Farmbesitzer"
114 to the effect that one day a Rąmkõ'kamekra left his work to go home and kill his father, who was too weak to remain alive. The story seems hardly credible; even if the intention was a reality, the Indian is not likely to have ostentatiously informed his Neobrazilian employer of it.[275]

Snake Shamans

755 Kwųikõ', a man of about forty-five, has the reputation of having special relations
756 with snakes, communicating with them clandestinely, and owning remedies against snake bites. He is generally regarded with fear and mistrust. People may not seek his friendship, but at least they try not to incur his enmity; the majority, I believe, would be afraid to deny him a request lest he take it in ill part and send a poisonous snake to meet them. Kwųikõ' rather unscrupulously exploits this attitude, imposing on his tribesmen all sorts of transactions with him that always result to their disadvantage. Though for a long time aware that he neither keeps a promise nor sticks to a bargain, they lack the courage to refuse doing business with him.

123 He applied the same technique to me on learning of my interest in his knowledge,
752 offering me in exchange an object he did not possess, demanding prior payment, which he received, and then regarding the matter as settled. When I demanded the return of the payment, he obeyed without protest, smiling his peculiar sweetish smile. Kentapí, who had urgently tried to dissuade me, was most upset by my procedure: Kwųikõ' was sure to take revenge; and when I said that was precisely what I should like to see, she added that if he failed he would take it out on her. Because of his sneaky conduct and unscrupulous mendacity I was unable to learn details as to his intercourse with the venomous snakes.

755 During my stay I saw him professionally active on only three occasions. The first time he called me to witness the act. A fortnight before my arrival a snake had bitten an Indian in the leg. He was seated on a racing log behind the house, with his leg extended. Kwųikõ' knelt before him and sucked out of the injured spot, which was still swollen, the "snake poison" still inside. A boy of about ten, the shaman's disciple, was standing beside him. After a while he rose, expectorated the "poison" into his hand, and put it into his pupil's mouth to be swallowed. The boy obviously had a horror of it and after several unsuccessful efforts he pushed the "poison" out of his mouth with his tongue. I forestalled the shaman by immediately removing it from his lips and at once recognized it as a bit of pink paper
[123] such as I was using to write on.

[273] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 60. [274] *Ibid.*, § 24. [275] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 186.

/47 cont./

123 Scarcely 15 minutes later there appeared before us from
137 out of the dry underbrush of the forest, which shortly afterward
142 changed into densely overgrown tableland, a copper-brown,
291 frighteningly ugly, already old Canella Indian, completely naked,
302 with long deep-black hair flowing down over his shoulders and
304 back (4), his ear lobes slit far apart, and holding a bow and arrows
411 in his hands.

4. The hair style of the Canella Indians corresponds exactly to that of the Pure-came-Crans /Porecamecra/, according to the description by Martius. See Ethnographie I, 287. "The Pure-came-crans wear their hair hanging down stiffly from the crown of the head to the ears and cut it here, following the curvature of the head in such a way that a furrow is formed, under which they let it grow again and fall down to the shoulders." The hair skullcap is actually the tribal badge of the Canella, and thus the supposition that the Canella of Suridade might be a remnant of the Pure-came-Crans visited by Pohl is not unjustified.

302 171

302 619 114

in his hands.

123 The usual Brazilian greeting formulas, which were quite
576 familiar to the old man:
171

"Como passou compadre /How are you, Friend/?"

"Muito obrigado. E como vae o Senhor /Very well, thank you. And how are you, Sir/?"

"Bem /Fine/." Laconically it continues. -- The Canella: "Do you have any tobacco?"

Answer: "No. -- We are going to your village." -- "I shall go with you."

302 Shortly afterward we met five more comrades of grotesque
411 appearance, painted with urucú red and genipa juice, almost all armed with guns. -- Another greeting scene.

/47 cont./

302 765 The Herculean-built brother-in-law of the village chief is among them. His head is /48/ shaved. According to tribal custom he had taken his head hair as an offering to the grave of his recently deceased wife (1).

[171] [101] 1. I observed the same custom among the Mẽkubengokrã Kayapo, to the west of the sierra of Conceição do Araguaia, in whose villages I stayed in 1909.

123 [203] The news of my imminent arrival had already been announced in the village. So it came about that I, with my companion, rode into Suridade accompanied by a stately procession. [361] In the village, which is built circularly -- i e., all the huts lie [622] in a circle, the radius of which is about 100 meters -- I was taken [342] immediately to the hut of the chief, Manoel José de Santo Vaqueiro, which is not distinguished from the other nine huts by any externally visible feature.

123 622 576 [648] The chief had received the rank of major from the government and obviously put /illustration appears here/ great value on the form of address due him. My first query as to whether the "chefe da aldeia" /head of the village/ were present in the house seemed not to correspond to the customary local ritual. The alteration of my question to "Aqui está a casa do 'major' Vaqueiro /Is this the house of Major Vaqueiro/?" had, however, the immediate result of a reply, "estou prompto" /this is it/, uttered rapidly several times.

And at once the ruler of the village emerged from under the low entrance, in front of which lay a large log of wood.

622 292 And how he looked! He had clad himself in his most elegant finery.

A black dinner-jacket hung loosely against white trousers on his thin figure.

On his head sat a colored double-peaked soldier's cap, which, as he recounted with a pompous air, had been bestowed upon him by the governor as a badge of his rank --

/48 cont./

123 622 574 352 285 upon him by the governor as a badge of his rank -- Surrounded by many curious members of his tribe, he welcomed me with dignified gravity, bade me enter, and ushered me and my servant to the place of honor on his bed, a wooden platform covered with

142 291 301 302 516

The Canella Indian Luiz and his wife Donna.

123 622 574 352 285 buriti-fiber mats (Port. girao) (2), which stood apart to the right

2. Pronounce the "g" in "girao" like the French "j."

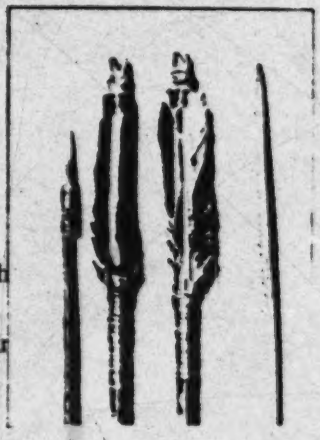
of the entrance.

342 Some minutes were needed to become accustomed to the twilight in the room, which received daylight only through the door and a few gaps in the palm-straw walls.

356 The relatively great cleanliness which prevailed in the hut made a pleasant impression.

/49 cont./

123 521 [411] [237] → The solemn silence which had prevailed at first was soon disrupted by lively chatter. The conversation between me and the chief was interrupted. Every object that I had with me was discussed in detail. I was questioned about their names and use.



Arrow types, opposed feathering. 1/2 nat. size.

From time to time a modest, or usually immodest wish was espressed to possess this or that. Then the conversation faltered again and I gained time to look around a little.

285 My admiration was aroused above all by the extremely well-plaited buriti mats and the different kinds of small baskets and decorated implements with plaiting around them, especially musical instruments and club-like staffs.

123 [142] [535] Unfortunately the pressure of time and an unmistakable mistrust stamped on the faces of my hosts did not permit more detailed notes.

126 [343] [252] [593] My wish to obtain photographs met with general understanding to be sure, but encountered such energetic resistance on the part of the wife of the chief, who with a few old women in an adjacent open hut, the kitchen, was devoting herself busily to the making of manioc flour.

Canella Indians in dance adornment.

/49 cont./
126 flour, that all the power of persuasion and even sharp words on the
593 part of her spouse were necessary in order to persuade her to remain and to continue to work within view of my camera.

846 During a brief visit to all the huts in the village I was able
[123] to ascertain above all the interesting fact of the persistence of the couvade among the Canella.

[123] /50/ According to the explanation of the chief, who accompanied me everywhere, the "man in childbed," who incidentally felt hurt by my indiscreet inquisitiveness and angrily turned his back on me, had been forced, since the delivery of his wife on the previous day, to lie down in her place and had to submit to strict regulations until the umbilical cord of the child had fallen off. He could not do any work, neither hunt nor fish. The slightest dietary mistake would result in a disturbance of the health or in the death of his child.

The mother of a newborn child has no restrictions imposed upon her, and, usually without suffering from any noticeably unpleasant effects after the act of giving birth, she goes about her normal activities as before. /Fig. 1 appears here./

123 The impatience of the chief permitted me to linger scarcely more than a few minutes in each hut.

123 All the ethnographic objects selected by me found their
126 way immediately into the habitation of the chief, who insisted
622 upon returning there as quickly as possible for a rapid conclusion
437 to the business of the exchange.

In the chief's hut there was then a rather stormy scene.

To be sure, the chief agreed to my wish to transport the collection to Casimba, but he demanded payment in advance, to which I did not agree.

Angered, some youths picked out their property from the collection spread out on the floor. Others soon followed their example and vanished with their possessions.

[152] The chief himself behaved no less furiously.

To show me his deepest contempt, he tore off his state apparel and hurled it, crumpled, into a dark corner, but calmed down again immediately when the expected effect on me did not

/50 cont./

123 take place and I, apparently giving up any idea of trade, gave
126 orders to my servant to saddle the animals.
622
437 Gesticulating excitedly he then spoke persuasively to his dissatisfied people and at the conclusion of his impressive speech gave me the assurance that I would find all the desired objects in Casimba the next morning.

126

411
[824]
[535]
[415]
←
[824]

1 3 2

535
[824]
[237]

Fig. 1.

The greatest part of the collection, however, was then missing, only sixteen objects from it remaining for me; they are in the possession of the Berlin kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde. These are:

No. 1. Bow with seven arrows. The bow (kuhẽ) is made with little care from black palm wood; two meters long, with a flat inner surface and convex outer surface (Fig. 1, 1). The wood of the bow tapers toward the ends, both in the width of the inner surface and in the height diameter. The arrows (krúa) consist of thin cane sharpened at one end and at the opposite end are provided with opposed feathering.

No. 2 Dance staff of black, hard wood, with a circular cross-section, tapering from the middle toward both ends. The one end bears a pendant of blue arara feathers as decoration. (Fig. 1, 2).

411

Bow cross-section.